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gravest questions which a presidential election might easily produce, *e.g.*, the choice of an ineligible elector. The historical discussion closes with two chapters, in some respects the most informing of all, on the historical development of the appointment of electors, the evils of the general-ticket system, and the amendments relative to the electoral system presented in Congress.

Mr. Dougherty has little difficulty in proving—if there were need of proving—that the electoral provisions of the Constitution are hopelessly antiquated, that existing laws are no bar to the recurrence of difficulties such as have already convulsed the nation, and that the only safety lies in a constitutional amendment. What he proposes is to abolish the electoral college altogether, and while continuing to allot electoral votes to each state on the same basis as at present, to divide the electoral votes among the several candidates in exact proportion to the total vote cast for each candidate in the state. The person receiving the highest number of electoral votes in all the states would become President. The provisions for the return and count of the votes, too elaborate even for summary here, aim to cover all possible disputes incident to a tie, leaving to each state the canvass of its own vote by designated officials, and requiring the authentication of the returns of the canvassers by the executive of the state. All controversies being thus left to the determination of the state, the count at Washington would be reduced to a mere enumeration, and a formal declaration of the result of the vote.

This is not the place to discuss at length the merits of Mr. Dougherty's plan. Apparently, it covers the principal conditions from which controversy has hitherto sprung, save that of dual returns from rival state governments: and here the author frankly admits its insufficiency. It goes far to give minority representation in the choice of President, though we doubt if the average voter, if he be in the minority, values his vote as highly as Mr. Dougherty seems to think he does. Lastly, the plan attacks the existing difficulty in the only right way, that of amending the Constitution. To amend the Constitution, however, is a serious matter. It is a striking commentary on political thinking in this country that Mr. Dougherty's book will probably receive from Congress or its members no consideration whatever. Only students and reformers will see in it a valuable contribution to the history of our electoral system, a clear and forcible exposure of dangerous political and constitutional defects which ought to be cured, and a sensible suggestion of remedy.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume II. *The Federalist System, 1789-1801.* By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xviii, 327.)

It would be much to ask from a writer on the administrations of Washington and John Adams a novel presentation of the facts or a new

judgment on the leading characters. There were no secret manoeuvres to describe, no dark or devious methods in public policy, in politics, or in foreign relations to be brought to light. The nature of the leaders made them open and expressive. Jefferson put upon paper his inmost thoughts, and wrote much more than was to the purpose. Hamilton has given the best possible exposition of his financial measures, and of his own ambitions or wishes in administration and political activity. No one ever justly brought against Washington or Adams a charge of concealment or of finesse. The acts of the twelve years of the Federalist régime are well known and the relations of the leaders well established. It only remained for a writer to present a point of view that may contain enough of personality to color the narrative of facts. In this Professor Bassett has been fairly successful. The space allowed was barely sufficient for the marshalling of the incidents, and some criticism might be made over the selection of those incidents. No two writers would give the same relative importance to what was to be told. Apart from that the writer has preserved a catholic spirit, never severe in condemnation or extravagant in praise, and thus the book reads well, and is a careful presentation of the course of Federalism. The style is clear, and the selection of authorities excellent. That it is a full history of the time no one can assert, for the limitations of space are very evident. Nor was it possible to characterize individuals, a matter of some importance when the policies in state affairs were so represented by a small number of persons of strong personality.

The government once organized, the public credit and the foreign commerce were the two leading subjects of legislation and diplomacy. The entire service of the three administrations may be said to have turned upon these two matters. The writer gives full credit to Hamilton's ability and keen political foresight in framing and defending his financial measures. Hardly enough credit is given to the great secretary in his sinking fund, which embodied the very sound principle that every creation of debt should be accompanied by the means of extinguishing it. The opposition of the South to Hamilton's acts is properly traced to an entirely different economic practice and basis of society. Gallatin was the one great master of finance among the Republicans, and his doctrine of economy offered a wholesome check to Hamilton's tendency to extravagance and state intervention. Hamilton's own venture into domestic manufactures under his own tariff is not mentioned. Professor Bassett writes as a protectionist, believing in Hamilton's wish to do away with the concentration of the people upon agriculture. The first tariff, he asserts, contained incidental protection, but did little to encourage manufactures. Yet his account of the rise of the cotton manufacture shows that the field was ready for industries without protection.

On the foreign relations Mr. Bassett retells the story of our entanglements with France and our rebuffs from England, on which almost nothing could be said outside of the accepted interpretation of the lead-

ing incidents. The errors of the French ministers to this country were offset by the errors of the British ministry in not securing the friendship of the United States by timely concessions. The intrigues on the western frontiers, the questions of impressments and boundaries, and the closure of the West Indies to our trade were grievances against England, in which Spain and France shared according to their interests. The effects of the Jay Treaty in France are well told, and the weakness of Monroe developed, though too much credit is given to his published defense, which had a small circulation and little effect. Gouverneur Morris was thrown out of usefulness by the overturn of the French aristocracy; but Monroe, a Democrat, could make himself only partially acceptable to the democracy in Paris. The negotiations with France under John Adams are related with a very fair appreciation of Adams's fine qualities and unshakable patriotism. The unfortunate and well-meaning Gerry bears his usual load of blame tempered by some deserved praise for good intentions.

On internal affairs the chapters on the "State of Society" and "Economic Conditions" sketch lightly the outline, leaving much for the reader to supply. Mr. Bassett emphasizes the "intensifying of distinctively American traits and a corresponding loss of cosmopolitanism". The material development first engaged the attention of the people, and the modification of political ideals and institutions in consequence has extended to the present day. He gives three "notable influences": the great impetus given to Democracy; a modified dependence upon English constitutional liberty; and the rise of American private law; and states that the most significant social movement of the period was the extension of the frontier (of settlement) beyond the mountains. It was this last that aided in the overthrow of Federalism and in the establishment of Democracy. The protest against the collection of taxes and the campaign documents known as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were as significant as the intrigue with Spain and the great land speculations. The admission of new states and the preparation for receiving others from the western territory materially affected the centre of political power. Naturally Professor Bassett writes liberally of slavery and the slave-trade. His chapter on economic conditions is lightly written, more suggestive than satisfying.

It remains to speak of a few matters that could be corrected in a second edition. The tobacco trade with England could not take all the growth of Virginia and Maryland. The continental trade was of vastly greater importance, and the restrictions then placed upon the weed were more destructive of the interest than were the English duties. It was Thomson Callender who wrote for and against Jefferson. The betrayal of Hamilton's connection with Mrs. Reynolds was made by John Beckley, to whom Monroe had given the papers, knowing the use he would make of them. The visit of Chateaubriand might have received mention among the list of foreign notables. The local politics in some

of the states, as for example in Pennsylvania, should have received further attention, for they explained the waning of Federalism. Still, the book itself is so sanely written that it seems ungrateful to call attention to what are very small defects.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 12. *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811.* By EDWARD CHANNING, Professor of History, Harvard University. Volume 13. *The Rise of American Nationality, 1811-1819.* By KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK, President of the University of Arizona. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xii, 299; xvi, 339.)

THE two volumes under review are numbered 12 and 13, respectively, in the series of histories edited by Professor A. B. Hart under the title, *The American Nation*. Professor Channing's book covers the period from the inauguration of Jefferson to the outbreak of the War of 1812. He correctly holds that the earlier years of Madison's administration are to be regarded as a continuation of the Jeffersonian period. With the declaration of war on June 18, 1812, the "Jeffersonian system was at an end: a new epoch in the history of the American nation was begun."

This new epoch forms the period treated by President Babcock, which extends from the outbreak of the war to the complete nationalization of the Republican party, *i. e.*, from 1812 to 1819, although for purposes of introduction and conclusion the narrative is somewhat extended beyond these dates. The defects and advantages inherent in books written as portions of a serial publication need no enumeration here, although they are illustrated in the volumes before us. Suffice it to say that the authors have ably seconded the editor in reducing these defects to a minimum. The chief defect arising from the serial nature of the two volumes consists in a repetition of subject-matter already presented in an earlier number. That is, it is a defect from the standpoint of the reader who regards the books as volumes in a continued history, but a decided merit when each volume is considered as an independent monograph on the period it covers. Neither author gives more of the material contained in an earlier volume than is necessary for a clear understanding of the subject under discussion by one who has not read the preceding volume. Henry Adams's invaluable work covers all but the last two years of the period from 1801 to 1819, and each author freely uses the work and amply acknowledges his obligation to Mr. Adams. Both, however, preserve independence of judgment and do not hesitate to maintain conclusions at variance with those of Henry Adams. The authors, while in general following him, show a knowledge and use of the more important printed sources and evince skill and excellent judgment in handling them.